

University of Maine

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STATINTL

AGAINST THE C.I.A. -- A FACT SHEET AND POSITION PAPER **

THE C.I.A. -- IS IT REALLY THAT BAD?

It is generally known that the C.I.A. carries on espionage activities. But is it really true that the agency has functioned, as our petition maintains, as a counter-revolutionary corps around the world?

According to the New York Times, the C.I.A. "(is) known to have overthrown governments and installed others, raised armies, staged an invasion of Cuba, spied and counter-spied, established airlines and radio stations and schools and supported books, magazines and businesses." The C.I.A., says the Times, "provides 'technical assistance' to most Latin nations by helping them establish anti-communist police forces. It promotes anti-communist front organizations for students, workers, professionals, and businessmen, farmers and political parties. It arranges for contact between these groups and American labor organizations, institutes and foundations... (New York Times, 4/27/67.)

The anti-communist police forces of Latin American nations are notoriously used to suppress rebellious peasants. The C.I.A. does not merely spy; it takes sides around the world. It takes the side of reaction; it aids the governments of the rich in suppressing the poor. Let us examine a few concrete cases:

1) VIETNAM

In the early stages of U.S. intervention, the C.I.A. helped select Ngo Dinh Diem and buttressed him up:

"...as the pro-American head of South Vietnam...Michigan State was the cover for C.I.A. agents in South Vietnam during a multi-million dollar technical assistance program." (Times, 4/25/66.)

The Times does not point out that this "technical assistance" program was designed to train police, secret police, military and civilian officials in the ill-fated job of trying to roll back the population, which had already defeated similar French and Japanese attempts. C.I.A. activity in Vietnam only became public recently. The many millions who want the U.S. out of Vietnam were never even informed it was getting in.

**Prepared by Harvard-Radcliffe Students for a Democratic Society (S.D.S.)

2) BURMA

In the early 1950's:

"C.I.A. agents gathered remnants of the defeated Chinese Nationalist armies in the jungles of northwest Burma, supplied them with gold and arms and encouraged them to raid Communist China...One aim was to harrass Peking to a point where it might retaliate against Burma, forcing the Burmese to turn to the United States for protection." (Times, 4/25/66.)

3) CHINA

In Taiwan, the C.I.A. helps the Chiang regime - which most Chinese view as we view Hitler's government - by supplying dozens, sometimes hundreds of agents:

"...to train men who will be smuggled into Communist China... and to organize harassing operations on the islands just off shore of the mainland." (Times, 4/27/66.)

4) LAOS

"In 1960, C.I.A. agents in Laos disguised as 'military advisors' stuffed ballot boxes and engineered local uprisings to help a hand-picked (right-wing) strongman, Gen. Phoumi Nosavan, set up a 'pro-American' government that was desired by Pres. Eisenhower and Secretary of State John Foster Dulles." (Times, 4/25/66.)

5) INDONESIA

In 1958, in Indonesia:

"...the C.I.A. was authorized to fly in supplies from Taiwan and the Philippines to aid army officers rebelling against Pres. Sukarno in Sumatra and Java." (Times, 4/25/66.)

And, more recently:

"It is said, for instance, to have been so successful at infiltrating the top of the Indonesian government and army that the United States was reluctant to disrupt C.I.A. covering operations by withdrawing aid and information programs in 1964 and 1965. What was presented officially in Washington as toleration of Pres. Sukarno's insults and provocations was in much larger measure a desire to keep the C.I.A. fronts in business as long as possible." (Times, 4/27/66.)

This early support for the right-wing officers, and the C.I.A.'s position in the Indonesian military machine and in the government (!), make it clear, despite disclaimers, that the agency was on top of things during the recent right-wing coup and the subsequent terror in which hundreds of thousands - perhaps a million or more - were slaughtered.

6) GUATEMALA

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Guatemala, the reform-minded Arbenz government raised the minimum

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wage from 26¢ to \$1.08 a day (!), and started out on a relatively mild land reform. This included the expropriation of 243,000 acres of uncultivated land owned by the United Fruit Company.

Pres. Eisenhower and John Foster Dulles - Dulles was both a stockholder in and a long-time corporation counsel for United Fruit! - directed the C.I.A. to initiate plans for the overthrow of the popularly elected Arbenz government.

The C.I.A. organized, trained and equipped an invasion force, provided air cover, and succeeded in toppling Arbenz. In his place the agency installed a right-wing military dictatorship. Were the differences only ideological? Hardly. The new "government" halted land reform, returned expropriated land, disenfranchised 70% of the population, smashed trade unions, cut wages and abolished taxes on profits of foreign investors. (See Times, 4/28/66, for verification of the C.I.A.'s role as mastermind of the coup. See David Horowitz, The Free World Colossus, pp. 163-186 and John Gerassi, The Great Fear in Latin America, for a more detailed account.)

7) IRAN

In 1951 the reform government of Premier Mossadeh was elected in Iran. It nationalized the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. A C.I.A.-directed coup overthrew Mossadeh. Iran's highly profitable oil was turned over to a four-nation consortium.

The U.S. share was 40%. (See Horowitz, pp. 187ff.)

8) CUBA

As early as March, 1960, Pres. Eisenhower authorized C.I.A. invasion plans for Cuba. This C.I.A. group was built from the most reactionary forces. Unlike the Arbenz government, the Cuban government was supported by millions of the armed poor. For them the revolution already meant visibly improved lives. Moreover, the pre-revolutionary army of Batista had been defeated and dispersed. As a result, the Bay of Pigs attempt was a complete failure for the U.S. Much criticism fell on the C.I.A. This was not for its having attempted to overthrow the Cuban revolution, but, rather, for having muddled the job. (See Horowitz, pp. 198-212.)

9) The CONGO

Beginning in 1960 and for five years thereafter, the C.I.A. worked to create a proAmerican government in the Congo. At first this involved bribes (the C.I.A. used "money and fancy automobiles", Times, 4/26/66.) to buy votes and build leaders. But cash was not enough. To defend the then "American sponsored (Tshombe) government in Leopoldville," it resorted to arms.

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eventually felt compelled to fly some combat missions themselves (!) in support of South African and Rhodesian mercenaries...(The State Department) was pleased by the overall success of the operation." (Times, 4/26/66.)

Thus the C.I.A., with the clear approval of the government (Times, 4/26/66) kept the Congo out of the sphere of influence of the Congolese people!

"...the C.I.A. soon found Joseph Mobutu, Victor Nendaka, and Albert Ndele. Their eventual emergence as President of the country, Minister of Transportation and head of the National Bank, respectively, proved a tribute to the Americans' judgement and tactics." (Times, 4/26/66.)

Indeed! Despite this, the State Department tried to deny U.S. involvement. (Times, 4/26/66.)

10) IN THE U.S.?

The Central Intelligence Agency also operates at its center - in the U.S. itself. This takes on various forms.

"...the C.I.A. subsidizes, in whole or in part, a wide range of enterprises - 'private' foundations, book and magazine publishers, schools of international studies in universities, law offices, 'businesses' of various kinds and foreign broadcasting stations...American newspapers...authors and universities are often the beneficiaries of direct or indirect C.I.A. subsidies." (Times, 4/27/66.)

Thus the M.I.T. Center for International Studies was begun in 1951 in part through a \$300,000 C.I.A. grant. (Times, 4/27/66.)

"...the J.M.Kaplan Fund, Inc., had disbursed at least \$400,000 for the C.I.A. in a single year to a research institute. This institute, in turn, financed research centers in Latin America that drew other support from the Agency for International Development...the Ford Foundation and such universities as Harvard and Brandeis." (Our emphasis. Times, 4/27/66.)

And, as Ramparts exposed last year, the C.I.A. has controlled the National Student Association (N.S.A.) since 1952!

C.I.A. - RIGHT-WING ABERRATION?

"Regarding the C.I.A. analysts, one State Department officer said that 'there are more liberals per square inch at C.I.A. than anywhere else in the government.'" (Times, 4/26/66.)

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And if fact, the C.I.A. has supported some highly liberal groups. N.S.A., for example, was hardly a Goldwater outfit. After the N.S.A.-C.I.A. exposure took place, an N.S.A. leader said:

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"This has been a nightmare for us. Our whole credibility has been based on the image that we are independent and left-liberals." (!) (Times, 2/15/67.)

The C.I.A. is NOT a group of right-wing nuts. They function quite well when the need calls for "liberals" - although, to be sure, they can play the role of "conservatives" as well.

Tactically speaking, they are highly flexible.

TACTICS - BUT FOR WHOM?

C.I.A. activities are no mere cloak-and-dagger game, no James Bond war between contending romantic spy personalities. As in the past, the C.I.A. continues, today, to intervene around the world on the side of definite social forces. In each country which we sited (and there are, in fact, many other examples) the C.I.A. opposed the attempts of the poor - whether they were being led by Communists, as in China, or reform-minded nationalists, as in Guatemala and Iran, to get some control of the wealth extracted from them and their land by age-old domestic, and newly-arrived foreign (most often, U.S.) exploiters,

Not surprisingly, the Directors of the C.I.A. have all had the closest ties with the biggest businesses - often the very ones which gained from C.I.A. activities! For example, the pro-United Fruit 1954 Guatemala coup was pulled off by the C.I.A. when Allen Dulles was Director, Dulles' brother, John Foster Dulles, was a United Fruit lawyer and stockholder.

THE C.I.A. - INVISIBLE GOVERNMENT?

Many people who oppose the C.I.A. contend that it is an uncontrolled and secretive "invisible government" which sabotages the otherwise nice policies of elected officials. But strong evidence indicates that the C.I.A.:

"...is under far more stringent political and budgetary control than most of its critics know or concede."
(Times, 4/25/66.)

Indeed, the five-part New York Times series on the C.I.A., written in April, 1966, and from which much of the documentation for this report was drawn, presents overwhelming evidence to support its conclusion that if there is something wrong with U.S. foreign "relations":

"...it is not an invisible government but the real government of the United States upon which the responsibility must lie." (Times, 4/29/66.)

As Bobby Kennedy admitted:

"All relevant government agencies are contacted for their approval of C.I.A. policy. That includes the White House. If the policy was wrong, it was not the product of the C.I.A., but of each administration."

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The C.I.A., then, is no reactionary, secret society, nor a furtive, invisible government. It is, in fact, "under the control of the political leaders of the U.S. government." (Times, 4/25/66.) For what reason, then, does the government employ a secret agency, an organization which intervenes in every way, all over the world, against the poor? Arnold Toynbee, the far-from-radical historian, suggests the following observation, which may provide an explanation:

"...America is today the leader of a world-wide ante-revolutionary movement in defence of vested interests. She now stands for what Rome stood for. Rome consistently supported the rich against the poor in all foreign communities that fell under her sway; and, since the poor have always and everywhere been far more numerous than the rich, Rome's policy made for inequality, for injustice, and for the least happiness of the greatest number. America's decision to adopt Rome's role has been deliberate, if I have gauged it right." (Arnold Toynbee, America and the World Revolution; this section is reprinted in Horowitz, p.15.)

The government uses the "secret" C.I.A. to carry out activities which, if done openly, would expose the character of U.S. foreign policy, and the government that perpetrates it, to the American people.

THE C.I.A. WANTS YOU!

The C.I.A. is not merely a large (15,000-member) organization. It is also well-stocked with Ph.d's. Indeed, the C.I.A. was among the first government agencies to seek the valuable services of American scholars - an idea now widely emulated." (Times, 4/27/66.)

So it is not coming to Harvard to talk. It needs the services of Harvard people as agents, researchers, and part-time spies to help along the world-wide movement of which Toynbee speaks about. To view this as a matter of the C.I.A.'s right of free speech is certainly a non sequitur. For recruitment of personnel is as much a part of the C.I.A.'s operations as bridgeblowing. To remain neutral is, in its effect, to take a stand in favor of the C.I.A. Every person the C.I.A. successfully recruits is a real blow to the needs of hundreds of millions of terribly exploited and therefore rebellious people all over the world.

The operations of the C.I.A. (for instance, those in Vietnam) can become the operations of the U.S. Army at a later date. In other words, hundreds of thousands of young men are, at present, and will continue, in the future, to be drafted as the government expands C.I.A. attempts at suppression on a "higher" level. And just as the government needs troops to put down the Vietnamese people, so it also needs thousands of scholars to sell their talents for the same unjust ends. We must oppose U.S. presence in Vietnam and demand that the government withdraw immediately. By the same token, we must oppose the C.I.A.